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REVIEW OF ECA ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING,
PROJECTIONS AND POLICIES 1978-1979 AND PROPOSED WORK PROGRAMME
1980-1981 AS APPROVED BY THE FOURTEENTH SESSION/FIFTH MEETING
OF MINISTERS, RABAT, 20-28 MARCH 1979

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REVIEW OF ECA ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING,
PROJECTIONS AND POLICIES FOR 1978/1979 AND PROPOSED WORK PROGRAMME
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I. Review of ECA activities in the field of development planning,
projections and policies for 1978/1979

A. Introduction

1. In accordance with the revised framework of principles for the implementation of the New International Economic Order, 1976-1980-1986 (E/CN.14/ECO/90/Rev.3) which was later replaced by Resolution 332 (XIV) on the development strategy for Africa for the Third Development Decade adopted by the ECA, Fourteenth Session/Fifth meeting of the Conference of Ministers, the basic thrust of the work-programme in this field as in other fields of the ECA work programme is to assist member states in achieving the following objectives:

(a) The establishment of self-sustaining, internally located processes of development and economic growth at the national and/or multinational level;

(b) Subregional and regional collective self-reliance;

(c) Development of human resources to ensure their greater participation in the development process;

(d) Broad-based participation in the development process concurrent and consistent with the equitable distribution of the gains of socio-economic development;

(e) Acceleration of the industrialization process on the continent in the context of the social and economic environment of each country and not as a simple importation of foreign industrialization patterns.

2. In the pursuit of these objectives, priorities for the next United Nations Development Decade should be as follows:

- First, the attainment of regional self-sufficiency in food;
- Second, the establishment of sound industrial and technological policies, capabilities, and institutional infrastructure, as well as intra-African co-operation in order to permit the industrial take-off of Africa;
- Third, the physical integration of the region through the development of transport and communications at the national; multinational and regional levels;
- Fourth, the development of capabilities - national, multinational and regional - required to enable African Governments and their peoples to establish sovereignty over their natural resources;

- Fifth, the establishment of mutually beneficial and equitable relations between African countries and the rest of the world;
- Sixth, the attainment of a substantial increase in the present meagre 4 per cent share of intra-African trade in the total trade of Africa.

B. 2.241. Development trends, requirements and possibilities: Surveys and reviews

3. The major task carried out is the preparation, in response to various resolutions of the General Assembly and the ECA Conference of Ministers, of the annual Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa. The objective of the Survey is twofold; (a) to see how effective internal and external policy measures have been in producing solutions to the problems encountered in African countries; and (b) to respond to the provision of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Decade calling for a biennial systematic appraisal of the progress made at the national, regional and international levels in achieving the targets of the Decade.

4. The Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa for 1977/1978 which includes the fourth biennial review and appraisal of social and economic performance in the ECA region in the Second United Nations Development Decade was completed. The Survey of Economic and Social Conditions for 1978/79 which includes a special study on "Economic Growth, Employment, Income Distribution and Mass Poverty in the African developing countries" and which was also completed revealed that the economies of the countries of the African region continued to be dominated by fluctuations in the economic fortunes of the developed countries.

5. In 1978, GDP at constant prices in developing Africa as a whole rose by 4.6 per cent compared with a rate of 5.3 per cent achieved in 1977. These averages however conceal serious disparities in the performance of African developing countries classified into major oil and non-oil-exporting countries and the disparities are even wider if countries are classified according to per capita income groups.

6. While the major oil-exporting countries and those with higher per capita income ranging between US 300 to US 400 achieved average annual growth rates of 4.7 per cent and 5.9 per cent respectively in 1977 and 1978, the non-oil exporting countries of Africa achieved an average annual growth rate of 4.5 per cent during the same period. The respective average annual growth rates in 1977 were 7.1 per cent for the major oil-exporting countries, 2.6 per cent for countries with higher per capita income ranging between US 300 to US 400 and 4.3 per cent for the non-oil exporting countries.

7. The over-all balance of payments situation in 1978 was in marked contrast to 1976 and 1977. The major oil-exporting countries in Africa recorded a large deficit to US 5.8 billion on the goods and services account which was covered by a large inflow of foreign capital amounting to US 3.5 billion. For the non-oil exporting African countries, the net deficit on goods and services in 1978 was about US 2.6 billion as compared with US 7.6 billion in 1977.

8. Part II of both the 1977/1978 and 1978/1979 Surveys covers a review of economic and social conditions in most individual member countries of the region. Over and above the preparation of the Survey, the subprogramme is also intended to render, on request, advisory services to assist member countries in the preparation of their annual surveys and/or reviews and appraisal reports as well as to provide on-the-job training in this field. A number of advisory services missions were mounted to member countries.

9. As previously mentioned the 1978/1979 Survey, Part I, included a special study on Economic Growth, Employment, Income Distribution and Mass Poverty in the African developing countries. After reviewing the economic developments in the ECA region during the past two decades, the study discusses the concept of social justice and income distribution, followed by detailed estimates of mass poverty in the ECA region and some major policy issues. This is then followed by a review of the approaches to social justice developed within the United Nations family and finally the approaches propounded in the national development plans of many ECA member countries for employment promotion and the eradication of mass poverty.

The main findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

10. As a result of the poor growth performance of national income, agriculture and industry, particularly in the middle and low income countries, the demand for labour, grew at modest average annual rates. The position was compounded by the decline in labour intensity in both the manufacturing and the agricultural sectors. In the manufacturing sector the employment/output ratio declined due to the slow growth in output, the shift towards heavy industries and increased capital intensity.

11. The unemployed and the underemployed, in the African developing countries is estimated at some 63 million persons or 45 per cent of the total labour force in 1975. While the demand for labour was rising marginally during the decade of the 1960s and the 1970s, the number of entrants into the labour force was increasing at accelerated rates as a result of the fall in infant and childhood mortality rates after World War II. With the spread of education during the last two decades there was a shift in the composition of the unemployed with growing proportions of them being the educated youth. This could sooner or later endanger the social edifice.

12. The study defines social justice as a change in the direction of increased economic equality. The objective is not to achieve absolute equality which would dampen incentives but to achieve an equality of opportunities. The often propounded conflict and trade-off between growth and equity depends upon the set of policy instruments which are available and capable to solve the problems confronted. Many African countries do not master the application of

the available policy instruments, to say nothing about the need for innovative new policy measures.

13. From the point of view of the welfare of the people of a country, emphasis is made not only on income distribution but on the absolute level of that country's national income.

14. The study on income distribution reveals that (a) on a per capita basis, urban incomes are about three to four times in the rural areas which is quite high compared to the ratio of 1 to 0.8 in the developed countries; (b) disparities in expenditure are not as pronounced as those of income, which suggests that most of the family savings are generated in the urban areas. This tendency is likely to perpetuate income inequalities in the future; (c) income inequalities are consistently larger in urban areas as compared with the rural areas; (d) the distribution of income seems to have deteriorated in a large number of African developing countries; and (e) there seems to be some relationship between income inequalities and land distribution at least in the rural areas.

15. The poorest 40 per cent of the population in developing Africa as a whole had an income share of a mere 14 to 15 per cent of the total income, while the richest 20 per cent of the population shared 53 to 55 per cent of the total income among themselves.

16. About 40 per cent on the average or about 147 million people of the total population of developing Africa had a yearly average per capita income of about \$US 130 at current market prices in 1975. These can be classified as "destitute" or seriously below the poverty line. The second income group forming 30 per cent of the total population or 110 million persons who had a yearly average per capita income of about \$US 255 at current 1975 prices may be considered as "seriously poor", or on the verge of poverty. These two groups, the destitute and the seriously poor, added together amounted to 257 million persons or some 70 per cent of the total population of developing Africa in 1975.

17. The study shows that the effort so far being propounded in the national development plans for many African developing countries are marginal to cope with the most serious problems of our time namely, the mal-utilization of human resources reflected in the rampant unemployment, underemployment and engagement in low productivity jobs, income inequalities and mass poverty.

C. 9.243.04 Studies on the sources, magnitude and mechanisms of foreign exchange leakages in African countries and their impact on the availability of development resources and on external debt accumulation

18. In 1979, a preliminary paper reviewing the exchange control system in thirty-eight developing African countries was completed. This was an introduction to the study of the sources, magnitude and mechanisms of foreign exchange leakages in African countries and their impact on the availability of development resources and on external debt accumulation.

19. According to the study all foreign exchange use which is not conducive to self-reliant, self-generated and internally located development, are considered as leakages. In the same context, the imports of luxury goods, the utilization of foreign exchange not conducive to the utilization of domestic resources and the utilization of foreign exchange resources for inappropriate capital goods and technology are all leakages. Also the export of goods requiring inappropriate factor mix is a leakage to the extent of the differences arising from optimal resource use. Leakages was also defined to include both embezzlement and also the sub-optimal utilization of foreign exchanges.

20. The paper attempts to review in brief the exchange control system beginning with (a) import control, followed by (b) export control, (c) control over invisible payments and receipts and finally (d) control on capital movements.

21. Import control is exercised through the import licensing system or exchange control or both. The object is to limit the volume of imports of certain goods, give preference to certain countries and customs areas, avoid over-invoicing, and ensure the arrival of the goods concerned. As stated before not all African developing countries pursue all these objectives at the same time. Some countries either adopt partial control limiting the control to certain goods or confine the control to give preferences to certain countries and customs areas, with no attention being paid to overinvoicing or to the repatriation of the goods purchased from abroad. The absence of comprehensive control can lead to substantial foreign exchange leakages through overinvoicing of the value of imports and through non-repatriation of the precise volume, value and quality of the foreign goods purchased. Establishing a control system to avoid overinvoicing requires the building up of special expertise in departments of customs and goods valuation. Considerable information has to be collected from abroad concerning the value and quality of the goods needed. Similarly, establishing a system of follow up or domiciling with a local bank for the repatriation of the goods requires introducing a sound system which necessitates full collaboration between the import authorizing units in the administration and the exchange control authorities in the banking system and the customs authorities.

22. There are many incentives for overinvoicing and capital flight through other means. Among the incentives are, of course, political and social instability, rigid control on transfers of profits, overvaluation of currencies and the system of customs duties. Generally speaking, specific import duties encourages overinvoicing while high ad valorem duties discourages overinvoicing. The system of authorizing imports without foreign exchange payments encourages overinvoicing of certain goods in order to raise the foreign exchange needed for the import of goods permitted only in case no foreign exchange is required.

23. The export control system applied in many African developing countries shows a number of serious defects conducive to substantial foreign exchange leakages through two sources, namely, the underinvoicing of exports and the lack of an appropriate follow up system designed to ensure the full repatriation of the export proceeds. There are no effective systems in many countries against underinvoicing of export values. This of course, as in imports, requires a proper system of valuation which necessitates up to date knowledge of world prices. However, in African developing countries about 19 export commodities or so form the great majority of total exports and thus it is not difficult for export licensing authorities to be fully informed on a daily basis of world prices in order to avoid underinvoicing. However, some of these major export commodities are being exported by multinational companies which make the control of proper invoicing extremely difficult.

24. It should be mentioned here that membership of customs or currency areas under which transactions within the area is free from restrictions can be conducive to exchange leakages. However, the system of domiciling the transactions with the banking system may help in this direction although solutions to these problems consistent with the rules for customs or currency areas poses substantial difficulty.

25. The study asserts that strict enforcement of exchange control may not succeed in the final analysis. Attempts to control the river stream by a system of dams not powerful enough to stand against the mounting flows of water will lead to cracks in one way or another in the dams themselves. In the final analysis foreign exchange leakages cannot be stopped without sound monetary, fiscal and foreign exchange policies conducive to optimality in resource use and allocation. An over-valued currency would encourage imports and leakages. The study concludes that optimality in resource use be it domestic or foreign is a concept which is extremely difficult to quantify.

D. 9.242.14 Africa's problems and perspectives in the framework of the Third U United Nations Development Decade (1980)

26. In response to the specific request contained in General Assembly resolution 3508(XXX) and the subsequent Economic and Social Council resolutions referred to above, the Economic Commission for Africa has evolved a preliminary specification of a standard projection model for African countries under

alternative sets of development scenarios. 1/

27. The standard projection model has been built in response to the increasing demand for quantitative analysis and projection work in the ECA region. It covers macro-projections of the main aspects of the African economy on an individual country and regional basis, especially with regard to such macro-variables as sectoral output, investment and employment, public and private consumption and imports and exports by the major commodity groupings.

28. This projection exercise aims at (i) analyzing the structure of individual country economies so as to facilitate the implementation of the national and international development strategies by making available to planners country-specific implications of a variety of structural and policy parameters, both national and external; and (ii) eventually assisting ECA member Governments in project preparation at the micro-level.

29. The standard projection model was used in a trial preliminary forecast for 8 African countries and the results 2/ were presented to the Seventh Session of the Conference of African Planners in December 1978. The planners congratulated the secretariat on the document and in the work undertaken in the secretariat to date in the field of forecasting and projections. They commended the clear and lucid identification of the crucial issues involved in the search for an effective African contribution to the elaboration of an international development strategy for the 1980s.

30. Naturally for any model to be useful, it must be based not only on theoretically tenable formulations but also on empirically justifiable and relevant considerations with enough meaningful insight into the actual nature and problems of the particular economy that the model is supposed to simulate. In this regard, there is no doubt that there is an inevitable necessity for close co-operation between the various planning agencies in the African countries and the model builders so as to ensure that as much of the reality of the individual economies is rightly portrayed and analysed. In addition, there is also an urgent need to strengthen, through concerted research efforts in Africa, knowledge of the empirical nature and particular problems of the African economies in order to permit a refinement of the various systems of planning models in Africa.

1/ In addition to General Assembly resolution 3508(XXX), mention should also be made of Commission resolutions 105(VI) and 187(IX) and Conference of Ministers resolution 257(XII) and 260(XII) which institutionalized and strengthened the activities of ECA in the field of socio-economic planning and projections (See E/5941/Add.1 and E/CN.14/683/Add.1, p. 15).

2/ Document E/CN.14/CAP.7/3.

31. Therefore while it was noted that the model was basically sound and useful, it was felt that attempts should be made to adapt the model to the specific characteristics and problems of individual African countries and suggestions were made for the improvement of the production function especially in agriculture.

32. The secretariat expanded the quantitative analysis and projection in building several types of models adapted to characteristics of various groups of countries such as least developed countries, major oil exporting countries, and non-least developed and non-oil exporting countries classified by income-groups.

33. In that context three major quantitative studies ^{1/} were prepared in 1979 for the Conference of African Least Developed Countries and the first session of the Joint Conference of African Planners, Statisticians and Demographers in March 1980.

34. Development in general and African development in particular has, at the present time, reached an important phase which involves tackling not only economic issues but also social factors. Development is now rightly conceived as encompassing such critical issues as income distribution and employment (with the underlying basic needs theme), self- and collective reliance (under regional co-operation) industrialization (with a self-generating and self-sustaining capacity); technology, capital requirements, restructuring of the national international economic order, etc. Thus planning for present-day development necessitates a deep and a pragmatic assessment of the various objectives and their priority listing, an analysis of the various social and economic problems along with others of magnitude and, consequently, the generation of consistent and realistic policy instruments. This is undoubtedly a gigantic task which no single available analytical tool can realistically handle. In actual fact it is not yet clear, especially in the African situation, how some of the development factors (e.g. satisfaction of basic needs or eradication of mass poverty) can be quantitatively introduced into a model structure.

35. In addition, the high sensitivity of the African economies to external force like nature's climatic changes and fluctuations in growth in the developed countries results in considerable economic uncertainties which limit the empirical theoretical balance that can be achieved by African economic models. It is thus important that all these various constraints and limits relevant to the African socio-economic structure are taken into consideration when formulating African projection models.

^{1/} ECA/CONF/LDCs/3: Quantitative Analysis of the Problems and Perspectives of the African Least Developed Countries in the Framework of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

E/CN.14/PSD.1/7: Perspectives of the African Region in the 1980s and Policy Implications.

E/CN.14/PSD.1/8: Comparative Analysis of the Projections made for Developing African Countries by various United Nations Agencies.

36. In Africa in particular, the lack of an efficient data base in many countries limits the efforts of researchers and planners in formulating more realistic development plans. For the determination of possible development targets requires a thorough examination of the way in which the country has evolved in the past and of the dynamic factors which have played an important part in its growth. Once the economy's past structural and policy parameters have been determined through multi-regression or other techniques, it becomes possible to assess the economy's growth potential and to define the degree of effort required to achieve various alternative patterns of growth by either assuming a continuation of the economy's past trends or modifying the past parameters in order to attain higher growth rates. Such methodology has not yet been widely used in many development plans in Africa.

37. The ECA secretariat has not been immune to these problems. It had also met with many difficulties in implementing model building and econometric techniques for its projection work because of manpower and financial constraints and the paucity of reliable long series of disaggregated data. The instability of parameters and excessive reliance on external factors such as international trade and the flow of external resources are another set of problems faced by ECA in carrying out its projection work.

38. Progressively, Governments and planning agencies, mainly in developed countries, have tried to use models as tools for decision-making at the micro- or macro-economic levels. In developing countries in general and in Africa in particular, the use of models as tools of analysis in the decision-making process is still constrained by various factors.

39. Besides the data and resource constraints already discussed, it is clear that political and sociological constraints obviously tend to weaken the relevance of the model and consequently its effectiveness at the implementation stage. However a start must now be made in effective model building in Africa.

40. Basically, two kinds of scenarios (i.e. sets of assumptions determining the future development of an economy) have been analyzed by the ECA secretariat in order to suggest alternative development issues for the countries of ECA region for the Third United Nations Development Decade, namely a trend scenario and a planned scenario in which some growth targets are set.

E. 9.244 Least developed and land-locked African countries

41. A special programme on the least developed countries was formulated in the light of the various General Assembly resolutions on the International Development Strategy and on the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, various UNCTAD resolutions and reports and resolutions of Commission bodies.

42. The aim of the subprogramme is to study and evaluate possible ways and means of assisting the least developed countries in Africa in overcoming the hinderance to their development, thereby accelerating their rate of growth.

43. Currently 20 out of the 49 member states of the Commission are classified as least developed countries. Together these countries account for about 31 per cent of the total population of developing African countries and about 41 per cent of the total land area. The differences between the least developed and other countries in the region are mainly differences of degree. The Special Programme for the Least Developed Countries cut across the activities of ECA divisions. It covers agriculture, education and training, manpower, public administration, management and finance and industry. In addition, the programme calls for the identification, design and development of multinational measures and projects at the subregional level in favour of the least developed countries, especially in the development of common resources, production, trade arrangements, complementarity in food production, local processing of raw materials and long-term purchase arrangements.

44. The establishment of priorities for the Special Programme for the Least Developed Countries as well as the harmonization and co-ordination of their implementation is the responsibility of an interdivisional Committee established in February 1978 within the secretariat.

45. Since the Special Programme cuts across the work of all ECA substantive divisions, the review of activities on behalf of the least developed countries is incorporated in the respective sections concerning the work of the other divisions. As far as socio-economic research and planning is concerned, continuous studies of the economic and social conditions of the individual least developed African countries are carried out as part of the annual Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa.

46. A paper entitled "Quantitative Analysis of the Problems and Perspectives of the African Least Developed Countries in the Framework of the Third United Nations Development Decade" was prepared which include the examination of two scenarios. The first scenario is a forecast based on the assumption that there will be no changes in policies during the projection period, while the second scenario is a planned development with an explicit target growth rate of 6 per cent in GDP. The forecasts on the basis of the continuation of past trends and policies show that the per capita income of these countries would remain almost stagnant which implies mounting mass poverty and unemployment; that the saving rates of these countries would remain low at only about 10.5 per cent of GDP resulting in a sizeable and increasing saving gap; and that their external resource gap would increase by two and one half times between 1975 and 1990.

47. For these countries to attain the more desirable growth rate of about 6 per cent in the 1980s, their agricultural output would have to grow by at least 4 per cent per year, while the industrial sector would have to attain an average annual growth rate of about 8 per cent. No doubt, these targets would necessitate great amounts of resources and it is projected that under such circumstances, these countries would have a savings gap of about 4 per cent by 1990, and a tremendous trade gap which could only be brought to

controllable levels if real exports were to increase by optimistic 7 per cent yearly. But even at this export rate, the trade gap would approach 6 per cent of GDP. In this case, net resources inflow at constant prices would have to be increased over three times between 1975 and 1990; or at an average annual rate of expansion of 7.4 per cent. An initial big push in net resources inflow in the early 1980s is essential and imperative for implementing immediate crash programmes in each of these African least developed countries.

48. ECA in collaboration with UNCTAD secretariat is convening a Conference on the Problems and Prospects of the Least Developed African Countries between 17-22 March this year in Addis Ababa. The Conference will examine the formulation of a Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s.

F. 9.245 Fiscal, monetary and financial issues at the national level

49. The subprogramme entitled "fiscal, monetary and financial issues at the national level" is meant to assist member States in adopting and implementing fiscal and monetary policies aimed at attacking mass poverty and influencing the mobilization and channelling of savings in accordance with development plans and priorities. The aim is also to assist member countries in building appropriate monetary and financial institutions.

50. The project has the four categories of activities, namely assistance to countries and Territories, studies, collection and dissemination of information and conferences, meetings, seminars and expert working groups.

51. In 1979, a study on the role of national development banks as instruments for economic development covering Senegal, Egypt, Malawi, Morocco, Zambia, Mauritania, Sudan, Mali, Tunisia and Madagascar has been started. The final phase of this study is due for completion in the later part of 1980. Owing to the severe resource constraints, however, it was not possible to cover as many countries as hoped. As far as Socio-economic Research and Planning is concerned, continuous studies on fiscal and monetary policies are carried out as part of the annual Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa.

II. Work Programme in Development Planning, Projections and Policies for 1980-1981

52. The programme of work and priorities of the Socio-economic Research and Planning Division for the biennium 1980-1981 as approved by the Conference of Ministers at its fifth meeting held at Rabat in March 1979, appear in pages 15-22 of document E/CN.14/707/Rev. 1 and E/CN.14/TECO/Rev.1 dated 16 November 1979, entitled Programme of Work and Priorities for 1980-1981.

53. The work programme 9.240 is divided into the following sub-programmes:

- (a) 9.241, entitled Development trends, requirements and possibilities;
- (b) 9.242 entitled Planning and Projections; (c) 9.243, entitled Socio-economic research; (d) 9.244, entitled Least developed and land-locked African countries and (e) 9.245, entitled Fiscal, monetary and financial issues at the national level. Details of these subprogrammes are shown in pages 15-22 of the above

mentioned documents.

54. In respect of African least developed countries the activities of the ECA are of two types: (a) those activities which are specially designed for the least developed countries along (subprogramme 9.244), and (b) those activities which are carried out in the different programmes within the framework of the programmes and projects designed for member states as a whole. In the Programme of Work and Priorities document for 1980-81, projects appearing in the different programmes are assembled together for easy comprehension under a single heading and are suitably located. For example, the projects on the least developed countries pertaining to the Socio-economic Research and Planning Division are identified by sub-programme 9.244 on the least developed and land-locked African countries. Other sectoral programmes for the LDCs which are carried out by the different ECA divisions are also assembled by project number and title under the other programmes. This presentation is for easy comprehension. Details of projects listed there by number could only be found by reference to the appropriate programmes in the other parts of the document.

55. Attention should be drawn to a number of programme design characteristics. There are four categories of classification for the same project which appears under "Assistance to countries and territories", under "Studies", and under "Conferences, meetings, seminars and expert working groups". Occasionally, it also appears under "collection and dissemination of information". There is a close relationship between projects in the four categories of classification. The second design characteristic relates to area presentation. Projects appearing in different programmes are assembled together for easy comprehension under a single heading suitably located. A third design characteristic is the broad classification of each programme wherever applicable into the following: I. General Programme; II. Regional Programme; III. Subregional Programme; and IV. Inter-regional Programme. This presentation was necessitated by the merging into and the derivation of ECA's Programme of work from that of the MULPOCs. A fourth design characteristic is the recognition of policy and planning aspects, manpower aspects, and institution building aspects, in several programmes.

56. The work programme on the African least developed and land-locked countries as approved by the Conference of Ministers at its fifth meeting held at Rabat in March 1979 is being submitted to the Conference on the Problems and Prospects of the Least Developed Countries to be held in Addis Ababa from 17 to 22 March 1980 for consideration and recommendations will be forwarded to the Sixth meeting, Fifteenth session of the Conference of Ministers.